

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 01878 01 OF 02 051225Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O R 051117Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6016
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1878

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV RH US UK
SUBJ: CONSULTATIVE GROUP DISCUSSIONS IN SALSIBURY

AS CONSULTATIVE GROUP PREPARES TO RETURN TO SALISBURY,
THERE ARE THREE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT QUESTIONS WHICH
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED IN PREPARATION FOR OUR DISCUSSIONS
WITH RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES. THE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE
IS REQUESTED IN TERMS OF THE POSITION WHICH IT BELIEVES
THE GROUP SHOULD TAKE ON EACH.

1. RHODESIAN INCURSIONS INTO MOZAMBIQUE, BOTSWANA AND
PERHAPS ZAMBIA.

A. NEWS OF THE MAJOR RHODESIAN INCURSION INTO
MOZAMBIQUE APPEARED THE DAY THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP LEFT
RHODESIA IN LATE MAY. WHILE THERE HAVE BEEN NO FURTHER
RECENT MAJOR INCURSIONS AS FAR AS WE ARE AWARE, THE THREAT
OF THEIR CONTINUATION AND EVEN EXPANSION REMAINS. FURTHER
MAJOR RAIDS COULD STIMULATE AN ESCALATION IN THE
NATIONALIST AND FRONTLINE RESPONSES IN THE FORM OF GROUND
OR AIR ATTACKS INTO RHODESIA OR ROCKET OR AIR BOMBARDMENTS

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OF RHODESIAN POPULATION CENTERS. SUCH AN ESCALATION WOULD
SERIOUSLY DAMAGE THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY SUCCESSFUL RESULT
EMERGING FROM THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS.

B. RECOMMENDATION: WE THEREFORE PROPOSE THAT IN
SALISBURY WE MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

--THAT THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP WAS EMBARRASSED AND THE
NEGOTIATIONS HARMED BY THE LAST MAJOR RAID INTO MOZAMBIQUE

IN LATE MAY;

--THAT ARMING OF THE NATIONALISTS AND THE FRONTLINE BY THE COMMUNIST NATIONS IS CONTINUING AT A STEPPED-UP PACE. WE CANNOT MONITOR ALL THE EQUIPMENT THAT IS BEING TRANSFERRED, BUT WE HAVE NO DOUBT IT IS OF AN INCREASING MODERN CHARACTER;

--THAT THOUGH WE UNDERSTAND THE WARAFRE WILL CONTINUE AND THE RHODESIAN REGIME FEELS AN OBLIGATION TO DEFEND ITSELF, NEVERTHELESS WE BELIEVE THAT MAJOR ATTACKS ACROSS BOUNDARIES WOULD INEVITABLY STIMULATE STEPPED-UP RESPONSES INVOLVING PERHAPS SOPHISTICATED WEAPONRY LIKE ROCKETS AND JET AIRCRAFT. WE COULD NOT EXCLUDE ATTACKS AGAINST POPULATION CENTERS;

--THAT WE WANT TO REEMPHASIZE, ALTHOUGH WE WERE CERTAIN THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES ALREADY UNDERSTOOD IT, THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES, INCLUDING THOSE INVOLVING MORE MODERN EQUIPMENT, WOULD WE CONSIDER SUPPORT OF ANY KIND FOR THE REGIME.

2. SMITH AND SITHOLE.

A. SITUATION: SITHOLE INFORMED US IN LONDON HE WAS RETURNING SHORTLY TO RHODESIA. INTELLIGENCE REPORTS INDICATE HE HAS MADE CONTACT WITH SOUTH AFRICAN AS WELL AS RHODESIAN INTELLIGENCE, AND PERHAPS THE CHINESE ALSO. HE HAS BEEN QUESTIONED CLOSELY BY THESE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES REGARDING HIS LONG TERM VIEWS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

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THIS RAISES THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW ATTEMPT BY SMITH AT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, THIS TIME WITH SITHOLE. ITS OUTLINES ARE NOT CLEAR, NOR IS WHETHER AN EVENTUAL ELECTION MIGHT BE ENVISAGED.

B. POSSIBILITIES OF SUCCESS: SUCH AN EFFORT HAS MORE POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS THAN OTHERS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED. A TURNOVER OF AUTHORITY BY SMITH TO SITHOLE MIGHT SWING MUCH OF ZANU AND MANY OF THE FIGHTING ELEMENTS OF ZIPA BEHIND HIM. IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR KAUNDA PARTICULARLY, AND PERHAPS FOR MACHEL, TO SUPPORT CONTINUED GUERRILLA WARFARE AGAINST A BLACK AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. ZAPU WITH ITS MINORITY TRIBAL BACKING COULD BE NEARLY ISOLATED AND BECOME MUCH LESS ATTRACTIVE AS A SUBJECT OF MILITARY SUPPORT TO THE SOVIETS. ON THE OTHZNLB

ND, AS LONG AS

MUZOREWA AND NKOMO REMAINED IN THE STRUGGLE, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR SITHOLE TO WIN MAJORITY POPULAR SUPPORT IN ANY REFERENDUM OR ELECTION. HE WOULD BE ACCUSED OF A SELLOUT TO SMITH (AND WE WOULD BE CRITICIZED AS HIS INSTRUMENT). THERE WOULD BE EFFORTS BY MANY AFRICAN NATIONS TO TREAT THE GOVERNMENT AS

ANOTHER TRANSKEI, THOUGH IT WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT TO DO SO.

C. PROS AND CONS OF ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE SITHOLE:

THIS IS A COMPLICATED SUBJECT. AS FAR AS THE NEGOTIATIONS
ARE CONCERNED, THE MATTER DOES NOT HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED
BY THE CG DURING ITS NEXT TRIP TO SALISBURY. WE COULD
CONFINE OURSELVES TO TRYING TO DETERMINE WHAT ARE SMITH'S
INTENTIONS. THE DURABILITY OF ANY GOVERNMENT WHICH IS
IMPOSED EITHER BY THE FORCE OF ARMS OR BY SMITH IS
THREATENED IN A NATION WHERE AFRICANS HAVE MADE AS MUCH
ECONOMIC AND INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS AND LEADERSHIP IS AS
SOPHISTICATED AS IN RHODESIA. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT
STRONG OPPOSITION WOULD CONTINUE AND THAT THE STABILITY
OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD BE SERIOUSLY THREATENED.
FURTHERMORE, THE EXISTENCE OF A CREDITABLE INTERNAL
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OPTION PUTS PRESSURE ON NKOMO TO CONTINUE PLAYING ALONG

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6017

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1878

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT--SUBPARA 2.D.)

WITH THE CG'S EFFORTS AND ASSOCIATING HIMSELF WITH OUR
PROJECT.

D. RECOMMENDATION: NEVERTHELESS, ON BALANCE I AM INCLINED TO RECOMMEND THAT WE AGAIN WARM SMITH AGAINST AN ATTEMPT AT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT BECAUSE:
--NOT TO DO SO MIGHT ENCOURAGE HIM;
--THE MOST EFFECTIVE POSSIBLE PRESSURE ON NKOMO TO CONTINUE COOPERATING WITH THE INITIATIVE AND EVENTUALLY PARTICIPATING IN AN ELECTION WOULD BE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE EFFORT COULD GO AHEAD WITHOUT HIM, NOT AS AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT BUT AS AN IMPARTIALLY ADMINISTERED ELECTION. IT IS THIS THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR;
--WE SHOULD NIP ANY EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION IN THE BUD IN ORDER TO AVOID SUSPICION AND DISTRUST OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE FRONTLINE WHO ARE LOOKING FOR JUST SUCH A "CONSPIRACY" AS THIS. I THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT WE MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO SMITH:
--WE WANT TO REITERATE THAT ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT
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OF SETTLEMENT OF ANY KIND WHICH IS NOT BASED ON AN OPEN AND FREE ELECTION WOULD BE AN UNACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO US;
--ONLY AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED AGREEMENT HAS ANY CHANCE OF BRINGING PEACE AND STABILITY TO RHODESIA. NOT ONLY WOULD ANYTHING ELSE LACK THE OUTSIDE FINANCIAL SUPPORT BEING CONSIDERED, BUT IT WOULD BE STRONGLY OPPOSED BY AFRICAN COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY NEIGHBORING ONES, PLACING SUCH A BURDEN ON THE SHOULDERS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT THAT IT WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY SURVIVING.

3. ZAPU ARRESTS IN RHODESIA. AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, THE RHODESIAN REGIME HAS ARRESTED PERHAPS AS MANY AS 100 LOWER LEVEL ZAPU OFFICIALS. ACCORDING TO EMBASSY PRETORIA, HAWKINS REPORTS MANY MAY BE RELEASED SHORTLY. NEVERTHELESS, THE DAMAGE OF THIS KIND OF ACTION TO OUR MOST DIFFICULT TASK--KEEPING NKOMO AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT INVOLVED IN THE DISCUSSIONS AND PARTICIPATING IN AN EVENTUAL ELECTION--IS GREAT. ARRESTS OF THIS KIND CONFIRM SUSPICION THAT SMITH IS WORKING ON SOME KIND OF SECRET ARRANGEMENT WITH SITHOLE OR MUZOREWA WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE U.S. AND UK THROUGH THE CG. WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT WE MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES:
--WE CAN UNDERSTAND THAT THE REGIME NEEDS TO TAKE MEASURES DESIGNED TO PROTECT ITS INTERNAL SECURITY AND THAT FROM TIME TO TIME ARRESTS MAY BE NECESSARY BASED ON SPECIFIC INFORMATION OF A PARTICULAR AND IMMEDIATE THREAT TO PUBLIC SAFETY;
--ON THE OTHER HAND, ACTIONS WHICH APPEAR TO BE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED AND DIRECTED AGAINST ONE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OR ANOTHER UNDERMINE THE NEGOTIATIONS

AND THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY KIND OF SETTLEMENT;
--WE CANNOT EMPHASIZE TOO STRONGLY THE NEED BY ALL
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PARTIES TO AVOID MEASURES WHICH HAVE THE EFFECT OF
INCREASING SUSPICION AND DISTRUST. MASS POLITICAL
ARRESTS OF SUPPORTS OF ONE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION
OR ANOTHER ARE AMONG THESE. IF THE REGIME IS SERIOUS
IN ITS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND UK, IT MUST
CONSIDER THE IMPACT OF SUCH ACTIONS OR RUN THE RISK
OF ANOTHER NEGOTIATING FAILURE WHICH WILL LEAVE THEM
WITH LESS BARGAINING LEVERAGE THAN BEFORE, AS HAS
BEEN THE CASE EACH TIME AN EFFORT HAS FAILED.

4. DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ARE REQUESTED ON THESE THREE
POINTS AND ITS APPROVAL OF OUR MAKING THE POINTS
SUGGESTED. RESPONSE SHOULD BE TRANSMITTED BY WASHINGTON
BEFORE MIDNIGHT OF THE 6TH, WASHINGTON TIME.
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